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665 candidate and in Roman by a fascist. The Communist candidate in
175 Timişoara polled over 25,000 votes. Here were the seeds of the political upheavals of the next decade.

665 At this point, when the National Peasants still commanded a strong
175 majority but were suffering a perceptible loss of popularity and a
643 slackening of impetus, Carol dramatically returned to Rumania on June 6, 1930. His return was not a surprise, as there had been rumors about it for weeks, so many in fact that the government had forbidden the mention of his name in the press. Maniu, after announcing that the government had sanctioned his return, resigned and was replaced by Mironescu, who annulled the act excluding Carol from the throne. He then resigned and a brief period of confusion ensued. The Liberal party split on the question; Vintilă Brătianu sharply opposed Carol's return and expelled a section of the party under Gheorghe Brătianu, the historian and adopted son of Ion I. C. Brătianu, who had come out for Carol. After two days, during which Marshal Presan attempted unsuccessfully to create a coalition cabinet, Maniu was recalled and formed a new National Peasant government, much the same as his first but with the addition of the economist Manoilescu, who had worked diligently for Carol's return.

The details of Carol's spectacular return are not altogether clear. Apparently the initiative had been his but Maniu had welcomed him.[5] As has already been noted, the National Peasants had never been satisfied with Carol's renunciation of the crown. The disadvantages inherent in the regency, which still had many years to go before Michael reached his majority; the hope of having a king on their side as Ferdinand had been on the Liberals'; the increasing difficulties of the party and the portents of waning popularity; and finally the obvious popular approval of Carol's return—all these combined to make the National Peasants accept the fatal step. At that the party

5. Ten years later Maniu wrote an article in the journal *Timpul* (September 14, 1940), describing his attitude toward Carol's return: "Ever since 1926 I was against Prince Carol's retirement and favored his return, not only in order to satisfy public opinion—which manifested this desire increasingly—but also to insure the continuity of the dynastic order and the normal government of the country. . . . Therefore, in my capacity as Prime Minister I favored the return of Prince Carol, but only under certain well-defined conditions which were to be put into force from the very beginning. However, after only a few weeks of his reign, I realized to my regret that these conditions were not being fulfilled. Thus, among other things the Coronation of King Carol II and of Queen Helen, arranged for the month of September 1930, was indefinitely postponed. Instead, and in defiance of Christian morals, he compromised his reign by leading a life against which I protested unceasingly for ten years. Having arrived at the conclusion that under these conditions I could no longer accept responsibility for Prince Carol's return and for his rule, I resigned, but maintained my attitude of energetic and continuous protest."

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leaders were not in complete agreement. Some desired Carol's immediate proclamation as king, some were hostile to him, and others advocated his entering the regency. Maniu himself was opposed to proclaiming him king until Carol should leave Mme Lupescu and achieve a reconciliation with his wife. "But," he said later, "I could not force my views in face of public opinion." [6]

The newly constituted government was short-lived. When Maniu learned that Mme Lupescu had returned to Rumania contrary to what he believed to be Carol's agreement, he resigned in protest on October 6. A new National Peasant cabinet was formed under the wealthy but colorless Mironescu, without Maniu or Vaida Voevod. Although this cabinet remained in office until the following April, its dismissal was only a matter of time. Carol had announced his desire to create a coalition government, and as soon as the National Peasants had completed a new loan agreement they were removed from office. The second National Peasant government of 1932–33 will be discussed later in connection with the depression.

Maniu's resignation in October, 1930, was a significant event as it marked, when viewed in retrospect, the conclusion of Rumania's brief experiment with responsible government. In so far as his action was a protest against royal irresponsibility and bad faith, Maniu was remaining true, as he did always, to his conception of legality and constitutionality. But as a protest against the king's moral standards it was misdirected. "Bourgeois sexual morality," Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson has said, "is probably less esteemed in Rumania than anywhere else on the Continent. It was not the right issue on which to base the whole conflict between Democracy and Dictatorship." [7]

The episode is inexplicable without some insight into Maniu's personality, which, in its rather cold incorruptibility, was in the sharpest possible contrast to the laxness and opportunism of Rumanian public life. Born in Transylvania in 1873, Iuliu Maniu had studied law in Vienna. He had been attorney of the Uniate Metropolitanate of Blaj and professor of law at the Blaj Theological Academy. As deputy to the Hungarian parliament he had gained a reputation as a stubborn and doughty opponent of Hungarian policy in Transylvania. The clerical atmosphere of Blaj and the parliamentary atmosphere of the Budapest chamber had a lasting influence. Maniu

6. John Gunther, *Inside Europe* (London, 1936), pp. 367–369, includes an unpublished speech by Maniu which was to have been delivered in 1934 and which provides some additional details concerning the National Peasant leader's position on Carol's return.

7. Hugh Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe between the Wars, 1918–1941* (2d ed., Cambridge University Press, 1946), p. 204.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The elections which followed in May, 1926, were among the most violent which had been witnessed in Rumania. Though the Averescu group had secured the support of the Magyars, Germans, Jews, Bulgarians and Turks by holding out to them the most alluring promises, it in no way felt secure, and therefore had recourse to extensive terrorist methods. Most Opposition leaders were arrested. Opposition leaders like Maniu and Vaida-Voevod were prevented from holding meetings. Mihalache was set upon by gendarmes and beaten at his home at Topoloveni. The Bessarabian leaders, Stere and Halippa, while travelling to Bessarabia were ignominiously thrown out of their train at Floresti, placed under an escort of gendarmes and conveyed on foot to Cetatea-Alba, a distance of 300 kilometers, despite the fact that they were both in a poor state of health at the time. The army and gendarmerie were mobilized and ordered to see to it that Rumanian citizens did their duty (such as it was conceived to be by the government of H.M. King Ferdinand of Rumania). One of the manifestos issued and distributed broadcast by army air-planes at the time read:—"If you trust in the King then you must trust in his government." As for the way royalty in Rumania conceived its duty of guarding the letter and spirit of the Constitution, one may judge by the fact that the King, aware of the violence to be committed, and knowing that as the supreme arbiter in the country he would be besought from all sides to intervene and put a stop to it, could think of nothing better than to elude his responsibilities by betaking himself to his yacht, and cruising on the Danube for a whole week so as not to be importuned by the complaints of his liege subjects!

In spite of the unprecedented violence employed the government obtained only 54% of the total votes cast, but it must be remembered that this percentage included almost the whole of the votes cast by the minorities.

For some time Averescu meekly followed the lead of Bratianu. He surprised nobody, however, when he began to show manifest signs of insubordination, but to no avail.

For the Liberals, knowing the shifty customer with whom they were dealing, had taken their precautions. During their four years of office they had bestowed on most of the

661 state administrations a certain degree of autonomy which, [642] effectively amputated the central government of many of its prerogatives, and having filled these administrations with their own partisans they still exerted an influence which could, if necessary, paralyse the governments destined to succeed them in office.

In his electoral manifestoes, Averescu had held out to the Rumanians the most seductive inducements, among others that of a flow of foreign capital into the country. Time passed, however, and so, without any sign of an impending materialization of these assurances, the public began to chafe and inveigh against him. The resentment which the Liberals had aroused against themselves was thus deftly diverted on to the heads of their successors. This result having been duly effected, the Liberals emerged from the seclusion they had hitherto voluntarily imposed on themselves, and now appeared on the scene in the guise of indispensable factors for the restoration of the order and legality so grievously compromised by their incompetent henchman! The King was induced to demand General Averescu to form a coalition Ministry, but after a fruitless effort he was summarily dismissed and replaced by Prince Stirbey, who a fortnight later retired, making way for a Bratianu Government, so that the transition might not appear too brusque.

● 643 King Ferdinand died in July, 1927, and as the crown passed to his grandson, Michael, a boy of six, a Regency Council was nominated. Ferdinand's son, the notorious Prince Carol, had been excluded from the throne owing to Ferdinand's conviction that Rumania's prestige would suffer if a person with Carol's record became King. A similar opinion seems to have been held by our Foreign Office, for when Prince Carol came over to England in 1925 he received a polite but firm request to leave our shores.

665 Unhappily for the Liberals, their leader, John Bratianu, died suddenly in November, 1927. His was a strong willed and dominating personality, capable, but not over scrupulous in the choice of methods. The leadership then passed to his brother, who until then had been Minister of Finance.

665 The rising storm of popular exasperation caused by the 652 financial policy of the Liberal party, which had brought the

671 preparing a system of regional decentralization which would largely have satisfied the desires of the minorities.

662 Having to rely upon an inefficient administrative staff, with the various autonomous State departments still filled with supporters of the Opposition, and the latter hampering and undermining the government's attempt to clear up the mess in which the country had been left, it was hardly possible to expect that the government of M. Maniu could effect the miraculous change that was expected of it. In order to counteract the underhand machinations of its Liberal opponents, who did not scruple even to sap its credit 642 abroad by circulating scurrilous attacks on it among foreign 643 banking institutions, while at home they brought pressure 661 to bear on the Regency (which had been elected at their dictation) to create irritating hindrances to the smooth working of the government's plans, the latter at last allowed itself to be won over to what at the time was a fairly popular view, namely that of permitting the former Crown Prince Carol to return and ascend the throne. His advent was reckoned as likely to strengthen the hands of the Government, for he shared with the National Peasant Party the hostility of the Bratianus. Carol II, however, after his accession to the throne on June 8th, 1930, began to manifest a distinct predilection for autocratic measures. He arbitrarily removed from his post the able Rumanian Minister in Paris, M. Diamandi, a man who had distinguished himself for years by his devoted and brilliant service to his country, and nominated a personal friend whose sole qualification for this important diplomatic post was that he was a racing man. He estranged both M. M. Maniu and Vaida-Voevod by unconstitutionally interfering in the government, and thereby provoked the resignation of both. As he did not yet feel himself strong enough to dissolve the Chamber he allowed the National Peasant Party to form another Cabinet with M. Mironescu at its head, but he imposed on them as colleague an outsider in the person of M. Manoilescu, another personal friend of his. An attempt was made to form a Coalition Cabinet to be presided over by M. Titulescu, but as this failed the Mironescu Cabinet was tolerated for a time because it was conducting negotiations for a loan, and a premature

disclosure of the impending adoption of a dictatorial regime might have influenced them adversely. Once the loan was obtained, and when it was deemed that the favour with which the National Peasant Party was regarded had somewhat subsided, owing to the unpopular budget measures it had adopted, M. Mironescu was forced to resign, and death having removed in the meantime the most determined adversary of the King, M. Vintila Bratianu, the former now proceeded to unfold his plan of action.

M. Titulescu was once more summoned to Bucarest and asked to form a broad Coalition Cabinet; but as the National Peasant Party refused to lend its support to a cabinet which would have contained two royal favourites, Manoilescu and Argentoianu, M. Titulescu wisely abandoned the task and returned to London.

The next step of Carol was an attempt to follow the nefarious example of his brother-in-law, the Serbian monarch, and form a military cabinet, but the Spanish revolution which broke out at the time induced him hastily to alter his plans.

M. Argentoianu, who had in the meantime become the favourite adviser of the King, opted for the dissolution of the Chamber and the formation of a cabinet of "technical" experts to shore up the tottering framework; himself to occupy the two most important posts, those of the Ministry of Finances and of the Interior. The technical capacities of M. Argentoianu are of peculiarly sinister character, judging from what former colleagues of his have to say of his activities. Thus General Averescu, in whose cabinet he held the post of Minister of Finances ad-interim, accuses him of unconstitutionally squandering £1,500,000, of thereby defrauding the State, and rendering himself liable to penalties provided in Art. 326 of the Rumanian penal code, as well as in Art. 3 of the law regarding ministerial responsibilities—infractions that had been established by the Judicial authorities in 1923, if we are to trust General Averescu's affirmations as they were published and reproduced in a series of articles in all the principal Bucarest newspapers during January, 1932. Another ex-Finance Minister, M. Virgil Madgearu, on whose integrity we may rely, likewise

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665 to blame other factors for whatever might go wrong
565 as there was no *boiar*-class left. The invisible, but
662 much more effective, financial control, continued to assure the rule of the same classes who had governed the country before.

665 Soon the Liberal Party again took over the
648 government. I. Bratianu was the undisputed chief of his party and had the confidence of the king. His whole policy was directed towards the strengthening of the power of the interests he represented. This, combined with his hostility towards the Soviet Union and Hungary had serious consequences which, however, became apparent only several years after his death.

643 THE MONARCHY. King Ferdinand, who had been
665 crowned at Alba Julia in 1922, died in 1927. This caused a serious crisis, for two years earlier the Crown Prince Carol had been forced to abdicate in favour of his infant son Michael. After Ferdinand's death a Regency Council of three was appointed to act in the king's name until he came of age. The Regents were naturally strongly influenced by Bratianu, but, when he died in 1928, the leader of the National Peasant Party was entrusted with the formation of a new government. Maniu secured a great electoral victory and his tenure of office was expected to bring about far-reaching changes. The new administration set about solving the minority question and the serious economic problems resulting from the incomplete land reform which instead of bettering had often worsened the lot of the peasants. Unfortunately at that time the world crisis had reached its worst stage. Although his

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government had the majority of the people behind it, Maniu was handicapped by sabotage on the part of the bureaucracy, the banks and the great industrialists. Moreover he found it very difficult to work with the Regency Council, especially in such a critical time, as very frequently it could not reach a unanimous decision.

All these circumstances seemed to make the restoration of Carol inevitable. Maniu therefore arranged for the return of Carol to Rumania, but made his accession to the throne conditional upon several undertakings, amongst which was a royal promise to respect the Constitution. Carol returned by plane on 8 June 1930 and was proclaimed King, his son Michael being unceremoniously relegated to the position of Crown Prince. Many high hopes were pinned on Carol whose youth and intelligence were held to be qualities which should make him a good ruler. But the head-strong young monarch, with his ideas of personal rule, soon disillusioned those who had enabled him to return. Before long Maniu resigned and the first period of Carol's personal regime began.

THE PEOPLE. During all these years the people of Rumania had hoped for an improvement of their position. After the first few years of adjustment to the changes consequent upon the World War, it had become apparent that all misfortunes could not be blamed upon the war. The Agrarian Reform which was to have cured all ills had turned out to be a very questionable blessing. The recovery of industry which had a promising start in the middle twenties, when considerable amounts of foreign

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The Iron Guard was originally part of the Moldavian and Bessarabian anti-Semitic movement led by Professor Cuza. Amongst his pupils was Codreanu who formed the 'Legion of the Archangel Michael', a terrorist organization modelled on the Fascist and Nazi pattern and supported by Germany and Italy. Codreanu began his political career with the assassination of the prefect of police of Jasi, the blackmail of Jews and the persecution of progressive organizations. His adherents were poor students of the type which in Germany formed the core of the Nazi movement, the lower clergy, army officers and civil servants. His anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik slogans sounded attractive to certain big business men, high army officers and the higher clergy who gave him their support. The king regarded the Iron Guard with favour, for it seemed an excellent weapon for weakening the country's democratic forces and preparing the way for his own, undisguised dictatorship. Accordingly the crimes of the Iron Guard were not punished and the activities of her adherents remained unchecked.

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In order to exploit the international situation, which was only too favourable for dictatorship, Carol began with an intensive propaganda, taking the slogans of Fascism, National Socialism and the Iron Guard, and laying particular stress upon his desire to rule with the help of the young generation. The schools and universities were militarized and the defence of the country made one of the daily watchwords. By ruling with non-party cabinets and playing off one party against the other Carol undermined the strength of the Liberals and the adherents of Maniu and Mihalache. From both parties he

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attracted personalities who were willing to abjure their political faith and serve the Crown.

While continuing to pay lip-service to the League of Nations, he supported the Italian campaign in Abyssinia by sending food and war material to Italy. During the Spanish Civil War propaganda in favour of Franco was allowed and supported, while anything in favour of the Republican cause was banned.[1]

The result of the elections in December 1937, on the eve of Hitler's seizure of Austria, precipitated events. The government of the day, headed by the Liberal Tatarescu, failed to secure the necessary 40% of the votes and resigned.[2] Carol refused to entrust Maniu with the formation of a government; and the Iron Guard had by now assumed such a hostile attitude towards the king that a compromise with them was out of the question. Consequently Carol called the 'National Christian Front' to power, an anti-Semitic and Fascist organization led by the poet Goga and Professor Cuza. Goga became Prime Minister and his cabinet contained former members of the Liberal and Peasant Parties who now went over to the absolutist camp, as well as the future 'Conducator'[3] Antonescu.

[1] General Cantacuzino and several legionaries joined Franco and when two of them were killed their coffins were carried all over Rumania with great processions and interred at the headquarters of the Iron Guard in the presence of German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese representatives. At the same time collectors for the Republican cause were imprisoned. Nevertheless there were many Rumanians fighting for the Republicans in the 'Dimitrov' battalion.

[2] The result was: Government 35·9%, Peasant Party 20·4%, Iron Guard 15·5%, National Christian Front 9·1%.

[3] Leader.

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The new government[1] at once introduced measures which had become familiar in Germany and Italy. All democratic papers and organizations were suppressed, anti-Semitic laws were carried out without delay and the government's storm-troopers ruled the country. In the meantime the Iron Guard gathered strength and prepared to take power. The king recognized the threatening danger, dismissed Goga after only forty-five days, installed the patriarch Miron Cristea as Prime Minister of a government of 'national concentration' and announced a new constitution on the Fascist model.

All political parties were dissolved and their property confiscated. Representation was to be 'corporative', that is, according to social status, and the age of the franchise raised from 21 to 30. The king, with an advisory Crown Council, had all executive power. This so-called constitution was put to an open and verbal vote and was naturally accepted.[1] The new single-party, the 'Front of National Renaissance', became the only recognized political organization whose membership was obligatory for all officials.

The king's victory seemed complete. The democratic forces were routed and the whole administration was firmly in his hands. The army and a section of the industrialists supported this new regime, which promised them increased powers and incomes. Codreanu, whose many assassinations had been left unpunished, was imprisoned after being found guilty in a libel action.

[1] Only about five thousand people dared to vote against this constitution in February 1938. Maniu demonstrated his protest by leaving the country before polling-day and returning shortly after.

[1 Lit: Goverment of National Christian Front of 1937--Analyst.]

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643 [648] found guilty in a libel action. The only immediate danger, the revisionist claims of Hungary and Bulgaria, was to be eliminated by an even friendlier attitude towards Italy and Germany, and Carol's tour of the European capitals, including London, was intended to reassure the democracies.

643 Beneath the surface, however, the struggle between the Iron Guard and Carol continued. While Carol was on his tour, Codreanu and thirteen of his legionaries were shot by their prison guards. The Minister of the Interior, Calinescu, a former member of the National Peasant Party, who succeeded to the premiership after Miron Cristea's death in March 1939, ordered further repressive measures and was himself assassinated by Iron Guardists in the autumn of the same year.

563 668 **THE FIFTH COLUMN.** Nazi Germany found an extremely fertile soil for its propaganda not only among the Rumanian Fascist parties and some generals and industrialists, but also amongst the many Germans living in Rumania. They were economically prosperous and the best treated of all minorities in Rumania. The most important communities were the settlements in Transylvania and in the Banat. At first Nazi propaganda was not very successful owing to the economically favourable position of these Germans and their comparatively strong religious feeling.[1] But as time went on it had great successes. Under the cloak of cultural associations Nazi cells were formed which soon spread into every German village. Unwilling Germans were

[1] The 'Saxons' are Protestants, the 'Aelpler', also in Transylvania, and the 'Schwaben' of the Banat Roman Catholics.

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so-called national and revolutionary movement betrayed its German inspiration by supporting and approving the handing over of Transylvania to Hungary, but opposing the cession of Bessarabia to the U.S.S.R. 668

The king's Prime Minister, Gigurtu, resigned on 4 September and Carol summoned General Antonescu, who was at the time imprisoned in Bistrita, and charged him with the formation of a new government. This step was all the more remarkable as the German Minister at Bucarest had been able to communicate with Antonescu while he was in prison. Antonescu at once demanded Carol's abdication and obtained it after two days' continuous and heated discussions and negotiations. On 6 September Carol, accompanied by his mistress Mme Lupescu and his aide Udureanu, left Rumania. His son Michael succeeded for the second time to the unstable throne. 668 643

Carol's abdication was due to many different factors. The occupation of Bessarabia by the Red Army and the acceptance of the Vienna Award showed how brittle and hollow was his widespread kingdom. Everybody knew how great the king's share in the weakening of the country had been. The ten years of his reign had led to disastrous consequences. The will of the people, voiced for the first time for many years, had a decisive influence on the events leading to the abdication. Another important factor was Hitler's distrust for a man whose country he intended to take under complete domination. The king's renunciation of the British Guarantee was unable to win him Germany's confidence. Since Carol assumed the throne in 1930 643 668 648

643 668 648 he had played off one political party against the other in order to strengthen his position. In foreign politics he followed the same tactics. He ended by completely isolating Rumania internationally and undermining her internally.

It may be said in extenuation of his inglorious behaviour, that the dismemberment of Greater Rumania was inevitable, once the whole balance of power had shifted against the Western Allies, whose settlement had created it. But it is at least equally tenable that a democratic and united Rumania, which had succeeded in winning the loyalty of any considerable elements among its minorities, might have held out against the cession of territory to Hungary, by obliging the Hungarians and Germans to use force to effect it at a time when Hitler was anxious to avoid war in the Danubian area. This might have rallied Rumania with Yugoslavia and Greece, who showed a more heroic spirit, to the Allies' camp. In fact, the king's policy only aggravated the internal situation and sharpened the conflict of parties.

642 661 **RUMANIA GOES TO WAR.** General I. Antonescu, having obtained Carol's abdication, pronounced himself 'Conducator', that is, 'Leader', and proclaimed the creation of the 'Legionary State'. His government was composed of generals, leaders of the Iron Guard and civil servants. Codreanu's successor, Horia Sima, became vice-premier and at once organized an unprecedented regime of terror throughout the whole of Rumania. His henchmen assassinated numerous prominent opponents of the Iron Guard. The looting of shops and the beating

7 [Sept 6, 1940 -- Analyst]

and admirals who had been most intimately associated with Antonescu were arrested and several, among them Generals Antonescu, Pantazi, and Vasiliu, were taken to the Soviet Union, where they were questioned and held until their trials in Bucharest in 1946.

With the end of the War the purge went further. Procedures for elimination of war criminals and collaborators were laid down in 1945 and numerous trials were held in 1946. At the same time the size of the army was being cut and many officers were simply dismissed. The Treaty of Paris in 1946 provided that the total military forces of Romania (including land, air, and marine force as well as frontier guards) could not exceed 138,000. The actual number of troops in active service at one time fell as low as 90,000. These were culled from fifteen regular divisions and two Communist divisions which had fought the Germans. The reduction in force was pushed as an ideal opportunity to get rid of political opponents.

The Communist take-over did not occur without resistance. The years from 1945 through 1950 were marked by a series of successively more stringent Communist demands for control.

The first prime minister after the coup was General Sanatescu. He was not sufficiently acceptable to the Russians and on December 6, 1944, he was replaced by General Nicolae Radescu, who had been known as an opponent of Antonescu and the Nazis and had spent some time in a concentration camp. Radescu, however, was by no means a pro-Communist or a Communist tool and he also lasted only briefly, being ousted on February 27, 1945 at the demand of Vyshinski, the Russian representative in Romania. A few days later a government was formed by Dr. Petru Groza who also had not been a Communist. He was indeed one of the wealthiest men in Romania and had been something of a collaborator with the Nazis, but he was sufficiently pliable to be used by the Russians for a considerable period. It was not until June 2, 1952, that he was replaced as Prime Minister by a top Communist leader, Gheorghiu-Dej. Groza is still a figurehead in Romanian politics under the title of President of the Presidium.

With the formation of the Groza government there came the first major shake-up in the army command. During the succeeding twelve months thousands of officers were removed. General Ion Negulescu, Minister of National Defense, was replaced by General Constantin Rascanu, a man who had been Chief of the Military Police under the Antonescu regime and later was disgraced and sent home from the front for engaging in black market operations. He ingratiated himself with the Communists by leading the group of officers who forced Radescu out of office.

During 1946 the non-Communist officers showed increased resistance to the sovietization of the army and the country. Toward the end of the year the Communists decided upon a further shake-up. Rascanu was discharged as Minister of the Armed Forces and replaced by General Mihail Lascar, former prisoner of war, who had served in the Horia-Closca-Crisan Division. Before that he had fought well on